interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301] [304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead ●[826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, 854 in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [824] 524 177

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally [301] were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

# CHAPTER V

# MOTHERHOOD

## Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 826 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Although a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 826 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 774 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most
752 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and
a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

462 Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

461 Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
221 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[281]

[P 553A]

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

## Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [825] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [826] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

## 1. Origins

*539 [ This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961. ]

People [ once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a